

APPENDIX A

6 of 6 DOCUMENTS

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The New York Times

December 19, 2000, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final
Correction Appended

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 2; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1842 words

HEADLINE: Terror Label No Hindrance To Anti-Arab Jewish Group

BYLINE: By DEAN E. MURPHY

BODY:

About 350 Jews are scheduled to have dinner in a rented hall in Brooklyn tonight with Binyamin Kahane, the son of Rabbi Meir David Kahane, the radical Brooklyn Jew and Israeli politician who was assassinated in a Manhattan hotel 10 years ago.

Entry will cost \$100 a person. The money will go to the Rabbi Meir Kahane Memorial Fund, which supports Binyamin Kahane's political and religious activities in Israel and a host of other pro-Kahane causes.

It is hardly unusual for Jews in Brooklyn to raise money destined for Israel, but in this case the people behind the event -- and the featured guest himself -- have been associated with terrorist groups and have been carefully running one step ahead of the law.

The Kahane political organizations, Kach and Kahane Chai, were outlawed in Israel in 1994 as terrorist groups because of their Arab-hating doctrines, though members of the group are still seen organizing anti-Arab demonstrations and handing out literature. The next year, they were designated foreign terrorist organizations by the United States government, which made it a crime to support them with money or other means. The crackdown followed a series of violent attacks on Palestinians and other Arabs, including the killing in 1994 of 29 Muslims by Baruch Goldstein, a Brooklyn-born Jew and Kahane adherent, who shot the Muslims to death while they were praying in a West Bank mosque.

But a core group of the rabbi's followers, working from their homes and a converted martial arts studio in Brooklyn, have thumbed their noses at the terrorist designations. They have reinvented themselves as Internet content providers, magazine publishers, community center operators and fund-raisers, all promoting Rabbi Kahane's contentious quest for the restoration of the biblical state of Israel, including the wholesale expulsion of Arabs.

Their numbers are small -- estimates range from a few dozen to a few hundred people -- but their determination is great.

"If we can't be Kach or Kahane Chai we will be simply Kahane," said Michael Guzofsky, an American who moved back to Brooklyn from Israel after Rabbi Kahane's assassination in 1990 to help lead one of the banned groups. "We operate openly and have nothing to hide. Ultimately, various organizations that did the same thing were put on the terrorist list, but people that believe in something generally don't run away even if it becomes dangerous to speak."

With the recent turmoil in the Middle East, their rallying cry for support has been simple and righteous: "Rabbi Kahane was right." Posters bearing that slogan have been plastered across Jewish neighborhoods in Brooklyn and Queens by a small patrol of Kahane volunteers on bicycles, including a three-wheeler that hauls a bucket of homemade paste.

Other literature distributed at the Hatikva Jewish Identity Center on Coney Island Avenue, the former martial arts studio run by Mr. Guzofsky that has become their headquarters, openly solicits donations for causes with names that have been altered to sidestep the government restrictions.

When the law catches up with them, as it has from time to time, the Kahane faithful just put on a new face and find a new name. The memorial fund is among their latest incarnations, a tax-exempt charitable organization registered two years ago with the Internal Revenue Service (the registered version uses the spelling Kahana). They also run a Web site, www.kahane.org, a youth center and a mail order business for products that include jewelry and videotapes.

"Your support for our vital work is more important than ever," Eric Greenberg, chairman of the memorial fund, said last month at a service in Brooklyn marking the 10th anniversary of Rabbi Kahane's death.

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, described the Kahane activities as subterfuge and said they should be stopped. In 1995, the league issued a report on the Kahane movement, concluding it was "a cult of violence and racism" that had "violated both the substance and spirit of Jewish tradition."

Mr. Foxman said the Kahane movement had lost most of its support in the United States, in both money and followers, since the main organizations were designated terrorist groups, first by executive order in 1995 by President Clinton and later by the State Department.

Mr. Foxman said the Kahane activists were "on the fringe of the fringe," but he warned that they could still be dangerous.

"The threat is always there," Mr. Foxman said. "We have learned from the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City that you don't need hundreds of people to act. It just takes one or two. Numbers don't tell all the story."

In recent months, graffiti proclaiming "Kahane Was Right" have appeared in Israel and the West Bank, and group members are believed to be responsible for recent smashing of windows of Arab cars and homes and the occupation of an Arab home in the West Bank town of Hebron.

Ian S. Lustic, a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania and an expert on extreme Jewish groups, said the Kahane movement also had few followers in Israel aside from some die-hard loyalists.

But Mr. Lustic said the Kahane followers in Brooklyn, by continuing their work in part as a charitable organization, have been able to draw donations from mainstream Jews who were probably not aware of the terrorist connection.

The memorial fund, in Cedarhurst on Long Island, reported income of \$107,000 in 1998, the first year it claimed tax-exempt status, according to the I.R.S. A solicitation letter for the fund states that it supports "all of the programs founded by Rabbi Kahane," and papers filed with the I.R.S. list his son, Binyamin, as its honorary chairman.

"It is so easy to become a tax-deductible organization and so hard to get the government to examine a case and say this doesn't qualify," Mr. Lustic said. "It doesn't surprise me that they could keep one step ahead of the government on that particular issue."

Not that it has been particularly difficult for the Brooklyn group to fend off the authorities. Mr. Guzofsky said law enforcement officials usually regard them as "nice people" and have left them alone. The group's closest brush with the law in recent years came in March, when about two dozen supporters from Brooklyn and Queens protested near the Clintons' home in Chappaqua, N.Y. The police kept the protesters at arm's length and arrested no one. The Clintons were not at home.

A spokesman for the Justice Department, which enforces the State Department's ban on the activities of designated foreign terrorist organizations, would not comment on the monitoring of the Kahane movement. An official with the Treasury Department, which tracks the financial dealings of the listed groups, said it was unclear whether investigators were aware of the memorial fund and the other Kahane manifestations.

"We keep the list under review all of the time," said Joe Reap, a spokesman for the State Department's counterterrorism section.

But Mr. Guzofsky could not help chuckling a bit when he was queried by a reporter about the Kahane movement's e-mail publication and its monthly print magazine, both known as The Judean Voice.

The publications were included on the list of designated foreign terrorist organizations because The Judean Voice was found by the State Department to be a new name for Kahane Chai. The designation made it illegal to provide

money or weapons to the organization. Twenty-nine groups are on the department's list, including the militant Palestinian movements Hamas and Hezbollah, which have also used other names.

But the print and electronic versions of The Judean Voice have continued uninterrupted under another name, The Voice of Judea. So little has changed that an advertisement in the November/December magazine referred to the publication by its outlawed name.

"It magnifies the absurdity of all of this to name a magazine as a terrorist organization," Mr. Guzofsky said. "All of this name changing and evolution of groups comes about because you need some vehicle to express yourself."

"How else can Mike Guzofsky, who believes in the Kahane philosophy, exercise free speech in America when his speech is considered to be terrorism? When you declare a magazine to be terror because of its views, then you have destroyed the justification for calling yourself a democracy."

A spokeswoman for the Department of Justice would not say if investigators were aware of the magazine's reincarnation.

"There is a process of adding to the list, including new aliases, but until something is added, we can't comment on what might result from ongoing investigations," said Chris Watney, the spokeswoman.

Last month, the Council on American-Islamic Relations, a prominent Muslim-American advocacy group, asked the F.B.I. to detain Binyamin Kahane, who was visiting New York for the service marking the 10th anniversary of his father's death. Mr. Kahane was the leader of Kahane Chai when it was banned in Israel in 1994, and his biography posted on www.kahane.org identifies him as "the recognized leader" of his father's movement. Last month, the Israeli Supreme Court upheld his conviction on a sedition charge for distributing a poster that advocated violence against Arabs.

Also last month, Baruch Marzel, the leader of Kach, the party founded by Rabbi Kahane, was traveling across the United States and Canada on a speaking tour. Mr. Marzel is expected to attend the dinner tonight in Brooklyn.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation did not respond to the inquiries about Mr. Kahane from the Islamic group, according to Ibrahim Hooper, a spokesman in Washington. A spokesman for the F.B.I., called by a reporter, said there were no grounds to detain the men because they had not been charged with a crime.

"It is inconceivable that they are not on some terrorist watch list," Mr. Hooper said. "Can you imagine the outcry if both the head of Hamas and Hezbollah went on a speaking tour of America? It appears some people are O.K. terrorists and others aren't."

A spokesman for the State Department would not say how or why the two men have been allowed to enter and leave the United States periodically in the last few years. A government official said Mr. Kahane carries an American passport. Mr. Marzel, the official said, renounced his American citizenship in 1988.

The Kahane followers say the Muslim outcry about their activities is both humorous and telling. They have long said the Kahane groups do not belong on the same terrorism list as Hamas and Hezbollah. The followers have started a petition campaign to have the Kahane groups removed from the list, saying the designations are anti-Semitic.

"The funny thing is they raise money for their charities and they kill, and we sit here trying to spread the truth and they try to have us arrested as terrorists," Mr. Greenberg, the memorial fund chairman, said of the Muslim advocacy groups last month. "That's America."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

CORRECTION-DATE: December 21, 2000, Thursday

CORRECTION:

An article on Tuesday about a visit to New York by Binyamin Kahane, the son of Rabbi Meir David Kahane, misspelled the surname of a professor at the University of Pennsylvania who was interviewed about the Kahane movement. He is Ian S. Lustick, not Lustic.

GRAPHIC: Photo: At the Hatikva Jewish Identity Center in Brooklyn, Michael Guzofsky, a Kahane leader, said, "We operate openly and have nothing to hide." (Chris Maynard for The New York Times)(pg. B6)

LOAD-DATE: December 19, 2000

APPENDIX B

The New York Times January 5, 2001 Friday Correction Appended

1 of 1 DOCUMENT

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January 5, 2001 Friday
Correction Appended
Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 862 words

HEADLINE: F.B.I. Raids Brooklyn Office of Kahane Followers

BYLINE: By DEAN E. MURPHY

BODY:

The authorities raided a Brooklyn community center yesterday run by followers of Rabbi Meir David Kahane, the Israeli politician assassinated in 1990, whose movements are designated as foreign terrorist groups by the State Department.

Agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, joined by the New York City police, hauled away several computers and reams of written materials from the Hatikva Jewish Identity Center on Coney Island Avenue in Flatbush. For the last year and a half, the center has served as the New York headquarters of the Kahane movement, which had been led by the rabbi's son, Binyamin Kahane, until he was killed last weekend in the West Bank.

Leon Kryzhanovsky, a Kahane supporter who tallied the confiscated items as they were loaded into a tractor-trailer, said 6 computers were taken, as well as a filing cabinet, 84 sealed boxes, 6 milk crates and 4 sets of protest signs, including one that criticized Hillary Rodham Clinton's views on the Middle East.

Included in the boxes, Kahane officials said, was a large inventory of books and other writings by Rabbi Kahane, as well as videotapes of speeches by the rabbi and his son.

Those materials, and other Kahane goods, including jewelry and posters, had been offered for sale on kahane.org, a Web site run by the center and its supporters. The site, and its mirror site, kahane.net, were apparently not a target of the F.B.I. since they continued uninterrupted throughout the day, even offering news and commentary about the raid as it was unfolding.

Joseph A. Valiquette, a spokesman for the bureau's office in New York, said there were no arrests and no criminal charges associated with the raid, which began shortly after 9 a.m. and ended about six hours later. He said the agents were executing a federal search warrant as part of an investigation, but he would not elaborate.

"The court papers that support that search warrant are under seal, which prevents any further discussion about what the nature of the investigation might be," Mr. Valiquette said. "What is sealed is the underlying affidavit which lays out the probable cause."

Michael Guzofsky, director of the Hatikva center and a leader of the Kahane movement in Brooklyn, said the agents were looking for information that might link the Kahane activities in Brooklyn to Kach and Kahane Chai, the two political organizations that have been designated as foreign terrorist groups since 1995 by the United States. The designations make it a crime for Americans to financially support the two organizations or a half-dozen or so other groups identified by the State Department as fronts for Kach and Kahane Chai, which means Kahane Lives.

Mr. Guzofsky, who had been a leader of Kahane Chai until the State Department designation, offered no apologies for the Brooklyn center's loyalty to the anti-Arab philosophy of Rabbi Kahane. But speaking to reporters in the bitter cold as F.B.I. agents scurried behind him, Mr. Guzofsky said the Kahane movement was a nonviolent effort aimed at

The New York Times January 5, 2001 Friday Correction Appended

promoting the teachings of Rabbi Kahane. He said the followers in Brooklyn had no association with the groups designated as terrorists.

"All we do is preach the truth," Mr. Guzofsky said. "Terrorism is bombs. It's bullets. It's not words."

At the core of Rabbi Kahane's teachings is the belief that Arabs should not be allowed to live in Israel because they pose a permanent threat to Jews. The rabbi was banned from elective politics in Israel before he was assassinated in a Manhattan hotel in 1990. Several years later, his party, Kach, and the party of his son, Kahane Chai, were outlawed in Israel as terrorist organizations.

The Kahane followers in Brooklyn operate from a building in the heart of a multiethnic community, which includes a strong Muslim presence. Across the street from the Hatikva center is the Makki Mosque, a building with a pink marble front and the inscription, "There is no God but Allah."

Next door to the center is the All Asian Grocery, which features stickers on the front windows bearing the words "Muslims for Hillary" and "I love Kashmir."

Several Muslims living or working in the neighborhood, including some who worship at the Makki Mosque, said the Kahane people have coexisted without incident in the neighborhood.

"I pass here all of the time and there has never been a problem," said Mohammed Chudhury, a Muslim from Pakistan who lives on the same block as the center. "The only incident I can remember here involved an argument with a guy who parked his car here and was in the way."

The Hatikva center, which is located behind a mortgage bank in a former martial arts studio, offers a range of courses, including language training in Hebrew and instruction in self-defense techniques. A small second floor serves as an office for kahane.org and as the stockroom for the merchandise for sale online.

Mr. Guzofsky said about 300 people regularly used the center, which, he said, grew out of a concept espoused in the teachings of Rabbi Kahane. At its root, he said, yesterday's raid was an attack on the rights of Jews everywhere to meet and speak freely.

"This should be a wake-up call to American Jews," he said.

URL: <http://www.nytimes.com>

CORRECTION-DATE: January 8, 2001

CORRECTION:

Because of an editing error, an article on Friday about a raid on a Brooklyn community center run by followers of Rabbi Meir Kahane misstated the scope of a State Department designation involving the Kahane movement. Two Kahane political parties banned in Israel have been designated as foreign terrorist organizations in the United States, but the center in Brooklyn and the broader Kahane movement have not been.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Agents removed computers, documents and protest signs yesterday from the Hatikva Jewish Identity Center. (Nancy Siesel/The New York Times)

LOAD-DATE: January 5, 2001

APPENDIX C

Financial Times (London,England) June 5, 2001 Tuesday

1 of 100 DOCUMENTS

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Financial Times (London,England)

June 5, 2001 Tuesday
London Edition 2

SECTION: SPECIAL REPORT THE FUNDING OF IRISH NATIONALISM ; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 1382 words

HEADLINE: Irish-Americans at odds over dissident republican groups

BODY:

In the counter-terrorist section of the US State Department, a dossier running to several hundred pages testifies to the enduring militancy of Irish republicanism.

Compiled since the Bush administration entered office, and based on information provided by British and Irish intelligence sources and law enforcement agencies, the dossier traces the extent to which dissident republicans have continued armed operations in defiance of the partly US-brokered IRA ceasefire reached under the Good Friday agreement.

Early in May, the dossier provided the basis for an official US government announcement designating the Real IRA as a foreign terrorist organisation, together with several aliases used by the group including the Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association.

But the Financial Times has learnt diehard Irish-American republicans are determined to circumvent the ban, challenge its validity and channel funds to activists in Northern Ireland.

While the White House move was welcomed by both London and Dublin, the reaction among Irish-American republicans has been defiant. Within days of the announcement, a group of about 50 men and women met in an Irish pub in the Chicago suburb of Forest Park. Amid passionate cries of "England, get out of Ireland", they snapped up raffle tickets at USDollars 10 (Pounds 7) a piece in aid of the dissident republican cause. A similar event was staged in Boston, while in New York Irish-American activists claimed the US government was in breach of their constitutional first amendment right to freedom of speech.

Republican activists in Chicago are grouped around the local chapter of the Irish Freedom Committee, set up in the 1980s as a support base for Republican Sinn Fein.

The Chicago group denies giving direct financial assistance to republican groups engaged in military operations in Northern Ireland, but its sympathies are clear. Frank O'Neill, a retired restaurant owner who likes to play the stock market when not chairing the Chicago IFC, has his own version of what happened in Omagh, Northern Ireland in August 1998, when 29 civilians were killed by a Real IRA bomb.

"The bombers gave a warning, but the police herded the people towards the bomb. The security forces wanted casualties. They were responsible for the people killed, just like Bloody Sunday," he says.

According to Irish and British officials, Irish-Americans in the Chicago group have been raising between Dollars 20,000 and Dollars 40,000 to send to dissident republicans in Ireland per year. IFC national secretary, Deidre Fennessy, a waitress, insists all monies go to prisoners' families.

"We are not talking about large amounts. We work a bit like a charity: a lot of hard work, for not a lot of money," she said.

The Irish Republican Welfare Prisoners Association is not registered as a charity, but continues to raise funds both in Ireland and the UK. It retains an official website in which potential donors are invited to send cheques to the

Financial Times (London, England) June 5, 2001 Tuesday

registered address in Dundalk, County Louth, of Rory Dougan, one of the association's national treasurers. He also sits on the executive of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement, the political arm of the Real IRA.

In New York, John McDonagh's weekly propaganda show on Radio Free Eireann and its website spread political statements of dissident republicans and generate financial support "of tens of thousands of dollars" to a separate prisoner welfare association, called CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependants Fund), which shares offices with Republican Sinn Fein in Dublin.

While officially allied to Republican Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Continuity IRA, Mr McDonagh has also provided a postal address for "letters of support" to be sent to Michael McKevitt, one of the alleged leaders of the Real IRA now facing trial on terrorist charges.

"I have every intention of taking the government on and using the internet to do so," says Mr McDonagh, sitting in the relative protection of a trusted Irish pub in New York's Queen's neighbourhood. He sits near a loud juke box, thereby distorting tape recording, claiming that the FBI is currently offering friends of his up to Dollars 50,000 to become informers.

Mr McDonagh believes funds can be sent to Ireland via addresses on the internet that cannot be identified with any proscribed organisation and which lie outside US jurisdiction.

"We are averaging 20,000 hits a day on our website - that makes it a potential vehicle for fundraising," says Mr McDonagh.

Those testing the legal parameters of the US ban include Martin Galvin, a New York-based lawyer, and one-time US spokesman for Noraid which, during the 1970s and 1980s, raised funds for the IRA.

Mr Galvin, who left Noraid following a purge by the current Sinn Fein/IRA leadership, argues that Irish-American activists grouped in organisations such as the IFC are acting on their own initiative, without direction from abroad. He claims it is within their rights to raise money on behalf of any organisation that shares these views.

And yet for all the outspoken statements of defiance, there is no doubt they are being made against a background of deep division and low morale. Revelations in April that a joint security operation involving the FBI, Irish Gardai and MI5 had infiltrated IFC chapters in New York, Boston and Chicago, as well as dissident republican groups in Ireland, have fuelled an atmosphere of mutual recrimination and deep mistrust.

The political rhetoric of those opposed to the Good Friday agreement is virtually indistinguishable. Only when the subject of David Rupert, the alleged FBI agent, is raised does the extent of the split become clearer, with each chapter accusing the other of having been most vulnerable to infiltration.

In an effort to limit the damage, Mr Galvin and Mr McDonagh are leading an attack on Mr Rupert's credibility as a witness in the McKevitt trial, saying he only helped the FBI because of tax debts.

Governments on both sides of the Atlantic, however, believe that the activists' predictable "bluster and swagger", as one US official puts it, will not generate the kind of political and financial support the IRA enjoyed during the 1970s and 1980s when human rights violations by the security forces were more common.

And yet one of the main beneficiaries of the current clampdown is likely to be the Friends of Sinn Fein, the organisation that under US law is allowed to raise funds on behalf of that part of the republican movement that has subscribed to the Good Friday agreement.

The FSF's files at the Department of Justice show that its support base is both geographically and socio-economically much broader than that of the dissidents, with dozens of businessmen, long existing organisations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernia, and trade unionists contributing funds.

"These Sinn Fein people come and vacuum-clean the dollars out of our country, thanks to their never-ending fundraising events, and access to the corridors of power," says Mr McDonagh.

Larry Downes, of the FSF does not disagree: "The dissidents have had no impact on our fundraising capabilities. It is growing at a steady pace and is expanding geographically."

He believes a majority of Irish-Americans have become better informed about the potential for progress represented by the Good Friday agreement, and remain unconvinced by dissident accusations of a sell-out. "Our supporters believe in the peace process and want to participate in it," says Mr Downes.

Financial Times (London,England) June 5, 2001 Tuesday

His ability to convey that message is helped by Irish-American congressmen who still exercise an extraordinary hold on both Democratic and Republican policy towards Northern Ireland and who have rejected all overtures from dissident republicans.

Last month, supporters of Friends of Sinn Fein helped pay for a Dollars 10,000 state-of-the-art computer-imaged mural in New York's East Harlem dedicated to the IRA hunger strikers.

Friends of Sinn Fein knows that its activities will be allowed by the US as long as the IRA maintains its ceasefire. It also knows that as long as a British government protects the Catholic community in Northern Ireland from persecution, US support for Irish republican causes of whatever tendency is unlikely to return to the generous levels of former years.

LOAD-DATE: June 4, 2001

APPENDIX D

Westlaw.

factiva
Don't Just Report.

12/30/01 BSX-SUNEX (No Page)

Page 1

12/30/01 Sunday Express (Pg. Unavail. Online)
2001 WL 32556545

The Express on Sunday
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Sunday, December 30, 2001

Outrage as US cash still flows to the IRA.

By EXCLUSIVE By Yvonne Ridley.

AMERICANS are continuing to back Irish terrorists by raising hundreds of thousands of dollars to fund bombing campaigns in mainland Britain.

The startling news will embarrass US President George Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair who have been standing "shoulder to shoulder" since declaring war on terrorists following the outrages on September 11.

A Sunday Express investigation into the dollars-for-bombs scandal also reveals that much of the fundraising has been organised by members of the Irish American community in New York - a city still reeling from the terrorist attacks ordered by Osama Bin Laden.

Reacting to our revelations, Lembit Opik, Lib Dem spokesman on Northern Ireland, said: "Those people sponsoring terrorism have to realise that a lost American life in the Twin Towers is no more valuable than a life lost in an Irish terrorist bomb paid for in dollars."

He said he would urge Northern Ireland Secretary Dr John Reid to raise the Sunday Express investigation with Tony Blair.

But, in a defiant mood, Joe Dillon, vice chairman of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement which has been closely linked to the outlawed Real IRA said: "Irish Americans who know their history will never turn their back on Ireland.

"Of course dollars are continuing to pour into Ireland and the expats will continue to send aid as long as we are being occupied by British aggressors. America may have put various Irish republican armies on its terrorist lists, but it should include the British government.

"The US reaction to September 11, of declaring war on terrorism, was predictable and understandable, but the Irish resistance to British occupation is the mandate of the Irish people all over the world."

Since the World Trade Center attacks the Sunday Express has discovered that more than a dozen of the 220 Irish bars in New York, several in Chicago and others across the US have continued to hold fundraising activities for the Real IRA and

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12/30/01 BSX-SUNEX (No Page)

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the Continuity IRA. Many had supported the Provisional IRA until it backed the Good Friday Agreement.

Americans are also raising funds by buying "hunger striker" mementoes, including T-shirts and commemorative mugs marking the 20th anniversary of the infamous Maze Prison hunger strikes led by terrorist Bobby Sands.

Some leading donors have been more blatant by openly visiting convicted terrorists in Maghaberry prison in County Antrim and Portlaoise prison near Dublin. "They say they are raising dollars for the families of these prisoners, but we know that their dollars are also buying bombs," said a senior Northern Ireland security source.

"There is no difference between the Al Qaeda movement and the Real IRA. They are both outlawed terrorist groups - the sooner the American people realise this, the better," he added.

Lembit Opik said that Tony Blair and Jack Straw were probably the only people capable of making President Bush listen. He added: "If Americans wage war on the basis of taking the moral high ground, they can't then ignore moral valleys in their own country."

A source within the Real IRA said:

"It's true that much of our funding comes from Irish Americans. Many used to support the Provos but, since they sold out to the British and backed the Good Friday Agreement, they lost support - and dollars."

His chilling message comes less than 24 hours after the EU published names of organisations and people it intends to combat in the wake of September 11.

Published without fanfare, the list included the Real IRA, the Continuity IRA and the Loyalist Volunteer Force.

DEFIANT: Militant Republican Joe Dillon.

----- INDEX REFERENCES -----

NEWS SUBJECT: English language content; Crime/Courts; Domestic Politics; Terrorism; Political/General News; Crime; Politics; Military Action; Military Action; General News; Risk News (ENGL GCRIM GPOL GTERR GCAT CRM PLT GVIO MLT GEN GRISK)

PRODUCT: European News/Features (DEE)

REGION: United Kingdom; Ireland; Western European Countries; European Countries; Ireland; United States; North American Countries; United States; North America; Europe; Western Europe; England (UK IRE WEURZ EURZ EI USA NAMZ US NME EU WEU ENG)

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APPENDIX E

Westlaw.

factiva
Data & News Reports

1/6/02 BSX-SUNEX (No Page)

Page 1

1/6/02 Sunday Express (Pg. Unavail. Online)
2002 WL 8959953

The Express on Sunday
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Sunday, January 6, 2002

Freeze on US funds for terror groups.

By Yvonne Ridley.

AMERICA has ordered the assets of Irish terror groups to be frozen less than 48 hours after a Sunday Express investigation revealed how US dollars were paying for republican bombing campaigns on mainland Britain.

The scandal also showed much of the fundraising was organised by members of the Irish American community in New York.

Since the World Trade Center atrocity, the Sunday Express discovered that more than a dozen of the 220 Irish bars in New York, several in Chicago and others across the US have continued to hold fundraising activities for the Real IRA and the Continuity IRA.

Many had supported the Provisional IRA until it backed the Good Friday Agreement.

The Bush administration reacted swiftly to our investigation and outlawed five Irish terror groups. The decision to freeze assets was rubberstamped by the US Secretary of State Colin Powell. It also followed a decision by the European Union to outlaw a handful of Irish groups last month.

The Northern Irish groups include four Protestant bodies, named as: Loyalist Volunteer Force, Orange Volunteers, Red Hand Defenders and Ulster Defence Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters.

Also on the list was the Continuity Irish Republican Army, a Northern Irish Catholic group regarded as the paramilitary wing of Republican Sinn Fein.

The Real IRA, which was also the focus of our investigation, was designated a banned organisation by the US Treasury two months ago.

----- INDEX REFERENCES -----

NEWS SUBJECT: English language content; Domestic Politics; Terrorism;
Political/General News; Crime/Courts; Politics; Crime; State Department; Executive
Government; Government Bodies (ENGL GPOL GTERR GCAT GCRIM PLT CRM GVSTD GVEXE

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Page 2

GVBOD)

PRODUCT: European News/Features (DEE)

REGION: United Kingdom; Ireland; Western European Countries; European
Countries; Ireland; Europe; Western Europe (UK IRE WEURZ EURZ EI EU WEU)

Language: EN

SOURCE REGION: EU UK WEU

Word Count: 230

1/6/02 BSX-SUNEX (No Page)

END OF DOCUMENT

APPENDIX F

The Jerusalem Post, January 12, 2001

1 of 4 DOCUMENTS

Copyright 2001 The Jerusalem Post
The Jerusalem Post

January 12, 2001, Friday

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2A

LENGTH: 395 words

HEADLINE: Marzel stripped of American visa

BYLINE: Herb Keinon, Janine Zacharia Contributed To This Report From Washington.

BODY:

The US State Department has revoked the multiple entry visa of former Kach leader Baruch Marzel, as part of a crackdown on Kach, Kahane Hai, and offshoot operations in the US, The Jerusalem Post has learned.

One source familiar with the case said that the current crackdown has to do with recent revelations that the US has incarcerated non-citizen Arab nationals, pending deportation proceedings against them, based on secret evidence.

"The US has been criticized on only coming down on Arab terror; this shows they come down against Jewish terror as well," the source said. "It is all part of trying to show balance."

The FBI raided the headquarters of a Kach offshoot in Brooklyn last week, confiscating computers, documents, and videotapes.

Marzel, who visited the US last month, was unaware that this action had been taken against him, until informed of it last night by the Post.

"It doesn't matter, since I don't travel abroad that much anyway," he said. "I am a Jew; I don't have to leave Israel."

Marzel was born in the US, immigrated with his family when he was only a few weeks old, and had American citizenship until he voluntarily gave it up in the 1980s when he ran unsuccessfully on the Kach list for the Knesset.

Marzel said that the Foreign Ministry and the General Security Service are behind the recent American actions against Kach and Kahane Hai.

Christopher Lamora, a spokesman in the State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs, said that "we had information come to our attention that indicated he might be ineligible for the visa that is in his possession." Lamora noted that Marzel, who lives in Hebron, could appeal the decision.

Marzel did not say last night whether he would do so.

Lamora said that Marzel's visa was revoked under section 212a of the Immigration and Nationality Act. One of its sections states that any alien who has engaged in a terrorist activity, or a person who a consular officer or the attorney general knows or has reasonable ground to believe is likely to engage in terrorist activity, is "excludable."

Kahane Hai and Kach were banned by Israel in 1994 and were designated terrorist organizations by the State Department in 1995.

One US official said that if Marzel tries to go to the US without a visa, he will be denied entry and placed on a plane back to Israel.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Kach leader Baruch Marzel (Credit: Ariel Jerozolinski)

The Jerusalem Post, January 12, 2001

LOAD-DATE: January 14, 2001

APPENDIX G

The New York Times March 21, 2004 Sunday

1 of 1 DOCUMENT

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The New York Times

March 21, 2004 Sunday
Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 6; Column 1; Magazine Desk; Pg. 50

LENGTH: 3089 words

HEADLINE: The Strip-Mall Revolutionaries

BYLINE: By Joshua Kurlantzick.

Joshua Kurlantzick is the foreign editor of The New Republic.

BODY:

Traditionally, militant groups huddle in caves in the mountains, or they blindfold journalists and drive them in circles before depositing them at their leader's jungle hideout. The Cambodian Freedom Fighters (C.F.F.), a militant group dedicated to the overthrow of Prime Minister Hun Sen of Cambodia, on the other hand, meets each Saturday at 6 p.m. in an accountant's office in a strip mall in Long Beach, Calif. When I called Yasith Chhun, the group's leader, he didn't hesitate to invite me to the next meeting.

"You can't miss our headquarters," he said. "It's right next to the bridal shop."

When I arrived, eight people were seated in the office. The room was crammed not only with Cambodian political paraphernalia but also with stacks of 1040 forms, evidence of Chhun's double life as a tax preparer. One smiling C.F.F. devotee was offering members glasses of fizzy orange soda. Chhun, 47, didn't cut a very imposing figure. His stomach flopped over his slacks, and his bent legs, small head and doughy face made him look more like a bowling pin than a warrior.

Still, a warrior is decidedly what he is. The C.F.F.'s stated goal is to enlist thousands of Cambodians to topple Hun Sen's quasi-authoritarian government by force, creating chaos out of which, the group said, a better government will emerge. "Hun Sen -- believe it or not -- he's going to get it," said one C.F.F. member, a muscular, middle-aged man nearly spitting with rage. "We are probably the last hope for the 10 million Cambodians." Chhun said he has little idea what form of government he plans to replace Hun Sen's with, though he has two guiding principles: he wants to model a new regime as closely as possible on the ideals of the American Republican Party, and he intends to populate the government with lots of accountants.

Chhun passed around an attendance sheet so everyone could sign in. After inking the sheet, each member stood up and pledged allegiance to the C.F.F. Then the meeting began in earnest, with one member after another throwing out ambitious, even wild chains of events that might put the group in control of Cambodia.

Chhun decided to expand the meeting by phone to include a few members of the C.F.F.'s global network. The group claims to have hundreds of agents inside Cambodia ready to execute its violent plans, each one known to C.F.F. members by a code of letters and numbers; Chhun admits that the coding system is so complicated that he sometimes loses track of which code represents which agent. He picked up the phone and dialed, trying to reach one of his lieutenants in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, he had only 34 cents left on his international phone card and couldn't dial out. Frustrated, he rummaged through desks and cabinets, found another card and finally reached a C.F.F. agent in the field, a former Cambodian Navy officer hiding along the Thai border. Speaking in Khmer, Cambodia's language, the officer confidently reported that he had persuaded more than 400 government soldiers to turn against Hun Sen. (Chhun translated for me as the rebel officer spoke.) "All of them are ready," the officer said. "They're just waiting for my

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command." The speakerphone crackled. "They take an oath, they swear to God they're with C.F.F. forever. They have the guns, they have the weapons, they have tanks."

It was impossible to tell for sure whether the agent's report was genuine, exaggerated or just wishful thinking. But it is clear that the C.F.F. isn't kidding around. The group spent two years methodically planning a coup that culminated in an armed assault on Phnom Penh in the fall of 2000, resulting in some of the worst bloodshed in the Cambodian capital's recent history. Now, Chhun said, the group is planning an even bigger assault. "Next time," he promised, "we will attack the whole country."

How does a group get away with planning violent attacks overseas from an office in Southern California? According to most Cambodia experts, the C.F.F.'s actions are illegal, contrary to American policy and harmful to Hun Sen's democratic opponents in Cambodia. Yet at least two conservative American legislators who detest Hun Sen have advocated the removal, or even the overthrow, of the Cambodian leader. That position, some believe, has had the effect of helping provide political cover for the C.F.F. Now that the White House has embraced the idea of regime change in Iraq and other rogue nations, the Cambodia hawks are getting a hearing, and the C.F.F. remains free to plot in Long Beach.

Like any major guerrilla attack, the C.F.F.'s November 2000 coup attempt was many years in the making. After fleeing the Khmer Rouge as a teenager in the late 1970's, Chhun sought refuge in the United States in 1982. Like many Cambodians, he maintained ties with his brutalized homeland, returning to assist an opposition party in the early 1990's, when the United Nations oversaw a transition to elected governments. But Chhun grew incensed at repression by Hun Sen, a former Khmer Rouge officer who used force and violent purges to remain in power after losing the 1993 election. "When I came back to the States," Chhun said, "I felt that nonviolence cannot do anything to the dictatorship in Cambodia."

Chhun soon found a channel for his rage. In October 1998, Chhun and several other emigres held a clandestine meeting on the Thai border with 120 Cambodian dissidents. Together they vowed to foment a coup.

Chhun returned to America and persuaded Cambodian-American friends to join his nascent organization, the C.F.F. In May 2000, Chhun held a fund-raiser attended by more than 500 people, many of them Cambodian expatriates, on the Queen Mary, the old cruise ship permanently moored at Long Beach. Attendees raised their right hands and swore to overthrow the Cambodian government. Chhun told them the money they were donating would be used to attack Hun Sen. Through the fund-raisers, Chhun said, the C.F.F. amassed a war chest of roughly \$300,000.

Money in hand, Chhun and Richard Kiri Kim, a local Cambodian immigrant, recruited 20 or so Cambodian-Americans to travel with them to the Thai-Cambodian border, where they set up a secret base. From there, Chhun dispatched Kim into Cambodia to contact military officers and offer many of them money and positions in a potential new government. In June 2000, Kim and his colleagues brought several officers to the border to meet with Chhun, who organized them into units and sent them back to recruit foot soldiers and wait for a signal.

On Nov. 23, 2000, Chhun called Kim from the base on the border and told him to strike the following day. Early on Nov. 24, a team of about 70 C.F.F. agents slipped into the center of Phnom Penh. Armed with B-40 rockets and assault rifles, they moved swiftly toward a compound of government buildings. They attacked the Ministry of Defense and the Council of Ministers, peppering them with fire, then turned their weapons on a local television station and a nearby military base. State security forces engaged the group in a fierce firefight that lasted more than an hour, leaving bullet holes in ministry offices and blood pooled in the street. By daybreak, eight people lay dead. In the wake of the violence, more than 200 people, including Richard Kiri Kim, were arrested by the Cambodian police. Chhun fled to Thailand and then returned to Long Beach to raise more money for the C.F.F., arriving in time for the 2001 tax season. "I couldn't keep my tax clients waiting," he said.

Chhun defended his group by claiming he limits his actions in the United States to raising money and planning strategy. But under the Neutrality Act, it is illegal for American citizens on American soil to organize military action against a country with which the United States is not at war. And although Hun Sen has presided over political repression, including using thugs to maim and kill critics, Washington has diplomatic relations with the Cambodian government. William Banks, an expert on national security law at Syracuse University, explains that the act prohibits even raising money or giving orders for violent attacks from the United States. "If you're providing the means -- money, weapons, technology, intelligence -- from within the United States, you're violating the law," Banks said.

The C.F.F. does not seem to pose a very serious threat to the government of Cambodia. Its real effect, in fact, may be to hurt nonviolent opponents of Hun Sen. The C.F.F. can be "used as a cudgel to threaten democratic opposition," said Tim Johnson, a former director of the Cambodia program at the International Republican Institute in Washington.

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In fact, after the November 2000 attack, Hun Sen jailed hundreds of critics who had no apparent connection to the C.F.F. Sam Rainsy, head of a leading Cambodian opposition party, said that at least 25 members of his party have been harassed or arrested on trumped-up C.F.F. charges; five remain in jail.

Since the C.F.F.'s coup attempt, the State Department has issued public statements condemning the group's actions and has listed the C.F.F. as a "terrorist group" in its annual Patterns of Global Terrorism report. So how does the C.F.F. manage to keep functioning? The fact is, in Washington there is official policy and unofficial policy, and unofficial policy sometimes wins the day. Congressman Dana Rohrabacher of California, a blunt, passionate advocate of human rights and a man with a history of supporting covert operations abroad, has become Hun Sen's most vociferous opponent. As a senior aide to Ronald Reagan, Rohrabacher, a Republican, was instrumental in enlisting quiet White House backing for insurgents like the Afghan resistance warriors and the contras. The congressman's district offices in Huntington Beach, 10 miles south of Long Beach, are adorned with photos of Rohrabacher, in full mujahedeen beard, holding a machine gun alongside Afghan rebels in the 1980's.

Rohrabacher has retained his commitment to renegade action. In 1997, after Hun Sen attacked and purged political rivals, Rohrabacher traveled to the Thai-Cambodian border to meet with opponents to the Cambodian government. As Hun Sen has consolidated his power, Rohrabacher, a barrel-chested man with a close-cropped hairstyle that makes him look like an aging drill sergeant, has trained his sights on the Cambodian prime minister -- and on official American policy toward him, which he has compared to denying "that Adolf Hitler really is as bad as he really looks."

When I met him in Washington, the congressman said that because he is willing to meet with armed opponents of Hun Sen, he has entered what he admits "most people think are murky waters." But if there's a possibility that Hun Sen can be overthrown, Rohrabacher said, jabbing his finger in the air, the United States "should evaluate the chances of any type of armed resistance and help them if they have a chance to win." If they seem to have a good shot at overthrowing the government, he said, "we should be happy to support them with lethal and nonlethal support."

Rohrabacher's strident words and actions provide implicit sanction for the C.F.F. One advocate for human rights in Cambodia (who did not want to be identified because he fears retribution against the international human rights organization for which he works) said Rohrabacher's statements encourage exiles to act. "Words from these congressmen do matter," the advocate said. "The exile communities take heart from them."

A Congressional Republican like Rohrabacher may have ideological reasons for advocating regime change in the region, but politics play a role, too. Southeast-Asian-Americans are becoming a solid Republican bloc, and they dominate some Congressional districts. In 2002, staff members of the chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee (N.R.C.C.), Thomas M. Reynolds, asked Chhun to serve as a fund-raiser in the Cambodian community. The C.F.F. leader said that he and his vice-president contributed more than \$5,000 to the N.R.C.C. and that he canvassed some 1,600 people to persuade them to vote Republican. N.R.C.C. representatives call Chhun twice a month to check up on his political work, Chhun said, and the committee has rewarded him by nominating him for a Congressional Order of Merit, appointing him to N.R.C.C.'s Business Advisory Council and inviting him to the council's annual meeting in Washington last May. At the meeting, where Chhun wore a pin saying "Cambodian Freedom Fighters," council members hobnobbed with Newt Gingrich, Katherine Harris and other Republican luminaries and then attended a fund-raising dinner for President Bush. When I called the N.R.C.C. and asked about Chhun's attendance at the meeting, Carl Forti, a spokesman, told me it was impossible to thoroughly investigate every person invited to join the group.

The Bush administration's stand on regime change in rogue nations has created a moment in which the murky, often secretive advocacy of insurgency abroad has suddenly gained credence. Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the No.2 Republican in the Senate and a leading force for human rights in Cambodia, has begun publicly calling for nonviolent regime change in Phnom Penh. The C.F.F., accordingly, has grown bolder. During one conversation, Chhun linked Hun Sen's repression to Saddam Hussein's repression and compared his organization with that of the Iraqi exiles who were carried into Baghdad by American troops. According to the C.F.F. vice president, Sokhom So, who is based in Virginia: "The U.S. overthrew Saddam Hussein's government. If I'm a terrorist, then George Bush is a terrorist too." (The White House referred requests for comment to the National Security Council, which in turn referred requests to the State Department, which reiterated its official opposition to the C.F.F.)

The Bay of Pigs exiles and the contras required direct American government support and money to penetrate closed societies. But today, porous borders, the proliferation of small arms and the increasing wealth of immigrants in America have changed the equation. The C.F.F. can easily raise money, slip into Asia and launch attacks without coming to the American government to ask for help. All they need is for Washington, and law enforcement, to look the other way. And as Sokhom So said proudly, the United States government "has never given us a red light."

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Needless to say, representatives of the Cambodian government are not happy about Washington's laissez-faire attitude toward the C.F.F., especially since, after 9/11, the White House has increased its demands on Cambodia in the war on terror. According to Zachary Abuza, a professor of Southeast Asian politics at Simmons College in Boston, Cambodia has become a base for Jemaah Islamiyah, a Qaeda ally that is believed to have masterminded the October 2002 Bali bombing. Abuza said Jemaah Islamiyah and Al Qaeda itself have begun using Cambodia to train militants and to move funds.

A State Department official said the United States has pushed Phnom Penh to round up members of Jemaah Islamiyah. In return, the Cambodian government has pressed Washington to arrest American-based insurgent groups like the C.F.F. Vanyuang Tan, the former political officer at the Cambodian Embassy in Washington, said that he insisted in 2000 that the Americans investigate the C.F.F. The F.B.I. has opened investigations into the C.F.F.'s activities, but the investigation seems to be going nowhere, and officials at the Cambodian Embassy say they have received no information from the F.B.I. A spokeswoman for the bureau refused to comment on the investigation.

Chhun himself isn't worried. When I asked him about the investigation, he laughed and said the F.B.I. has come to his office three times since 2000 to question him. He said he simply told the agents that the C.F.F. will plan more violence and showed them his files and tax returns; Chhun registered the C.F.F. in California as a nonprofit. He said he told the F.B.I.: "We won't stop. We'll have more plans in the future."

There is no single clear reason why the C.F.F. seems not to be a serious target of law enforcement, but different sources offer overlapping explanations. "Since 9/11, over 90 percent of international resources have been diverted to monitor the Islamist terror organizations," said Rohan Gunaratna, a specialist on Asia-Pacific terror groups.

Others said that the investigations are impeded by the fact that some elected officials in Washington support regime change in Southeast Asia. "You or I could get the goods on Yasith Chhun," said the advocate for Cambodian human rights, but "there is political interference" stymieing an investigation.

Eric Pape, a former reporter for The Cambodia Daily of Phnom Penh who has covered the C.F.F. extensively, said that individual members of Congress are sending a message to American law enforcement that the C.F.F. isn't a problem worth taking on. "There's not a chance in hell the U.S. would extradite Yasith Chhun to Cambodia or go after him," Pape said, suggesting Congress would stop the investigation by warning that Chhun would face an unfair trial in Cambodia.

Some Cambodian politicians, including Rainsy, said they believed Hun Sen may not really want the United States to investigate Chhun, since the C.F.F. creates an excuse to crack down on mainstream opponents. "The U.S. has a moral responsibility to clear up the mess and render justice," Rainsy said. If the Americans were to say that Chhun Yasith is "just a clown," that his group is being used by Hun Sen, Rainsy said, then legitimate opposition members in jail in Cambodia -- democrats who are charged with being members of the C.F.F. -- could be freed. "If the U.S. said he's a real terrorist, then he should be arrested," Rainsy added.

Yet so many parties appear to benefit from Chhun that the United States government probably won't be coming after him anytime soon. Unless, perhaps, the C.F.F. unleashes more violence. In May, the group is holding another big fund-raiser in Long Beach. And not long ago, I sat in Chhun's office as he again made calls to his agents in Southeast Asia to discuss a possible C.F.F. attack. He was particularly excited about the near future, he said, when C.F.F. members will have more free time. "Many of my other leaders are in accounting," he said. "I have to put off planning attacks until after tax season."

URL: <http://www.nytimes.com>

GRAPHIC: Photos: Yasith Chhun, president of the Cambodian Freedom Fighters, in his office. (Photograph by Justin Stephens)

Wounded receiving treatment after the C.F.F. attack in 2000. (Photograph by Philippe Lopez/Agence France-Presse)

LOAD-DATE: March 21, 2004

APPENDIX H

St. Petersburg Times, December 15, 2001

2 of 4 DOCUMENTS

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St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

December 15, 2001, Saturday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 895 words

HEADLINE: Sinn Fein leader risks furor with Cuba visit

BYLINE: DAVID ADAMS

DATELINE: MIAMI

BODY:

Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams is scheduled to arrive in Cuba on Sunday for a controversial four-day visit that seems certain to alienate supporters in the United States.

The much-awaited trip was originally due to take place this summer, but was postponed after three people suspected of belonging to the Irish Republican Army were arrested in Colombia on terrorism charges.

Plans to reschedule the visit appeared to have been scratched after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. Although Cuba played no role in the attacks on New York and Washington, its government is officially listed by the U.S. State Department as a "state sponsor of terrorism." Also, while Cuban leader Fidel Castro condemned the suicide hijackings, he has since been one of the most outspoken critics of U.S. military action in Afghanistan.

Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, relies heavily on support in the United States - especially in the New York area - for fundraising. It also enjoys official recognition from the U.S. government as part of its commitment to the Good Friday peace accords.

The announcement of the Cuba visit prompted veiled criticism from the U.S. State Department on Thursday. "While we would prefer that he not visit Cuba this is entirely his decision to make," a State Department spokesman said.

But in recent days several prominent Irish-Americans have voiced strong opposition to the Adams visit, saying the republican cause should not be confused with Castro's communist system.

"Fidel Castro is a walking human rights violator," said J. Brian McCarthy, chairman of Irish American Republicans, a lobbying group. "We have supported Gerry Adams in the past and we will continue to support his efforts for peace and justice in the north of Ireland, but we will not allow him to go to Cuba and embrace a tyrant without comment."

The trip is planned to commemorate Cuban solidarity during the celebrated 1981 IRA hunger strike at the Maze prison. Ten strikers died in what became a major embarrassment for the British government over demands that IRA prisoners be given political status.

As well as meeting Castro, the Sinn Fein delegation will unveil a monument in memory of the hunger strikers.

Analysts say the visit is part of an attempt to improve Adams' international standing while peace talks drag on with the British government. The IRA has lately come under increased international pressure for dragging its feet over decommissioning its weapons, a key element of the peace process.

In October Adams made a similar visit to South Africa, where he met with former President Nelson Mandela. During that visit he also unveiled a sculpture on Robben Island to commemorate those who have died on hunger strikes in Northern Ireland and South Africa.

Analysts, however, say the merits of visiting Cuba are harder to see.

The trip will only serve to refocus debate over Sinn Fein's alleged involvement with left-wing Colombian guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, often known by its Spanish abbreviation, FARC. One of the three IRA suspects jailed in Colombia was Sinn Fein's unofficial representative in Havana, Niall Connolly.

Connolly and two others, Martin McCauley and James Monaghan, were accused of training FARC fighters in explosives and urban terrorism. Sinn Fein initially denied that Connolly belonged to the party.

But Adams later confirmed that an internal investigation revealed Connolly had been working in Havana for a senior Sinn Fein executive, though without the party's formal approval.

Republican members of Congress are aghast over the political timing of the visit. This week, Rep. Peter King, R-N.Y., said: "I've told Gerry for some time I think it's a mistake to go. It undercuts Sinn Fein's argument for human rights. Castro is a flagrant violator of human rights."

The House International Relations Committee is conducting an inquiry into links between FARC and the IRA with a view to holding hearings. The committee is looking into allegations that the IRA has had a four-year connection to the Colombian group, during which time some 30 high-ranking IRA members have visited Colombia.

The Bush administration has warned the IRA that there would be serious consequences for Sinn Fein's status in the United States if it were proven that the IRA has been helping the FARC.

Asked about his meetings with Sinn Fein, the White House adviser on Northern Ireland, Richard Haass, said recently: "I made it categorically clear that the U.S. had very big interests in Colombia in terms of money and personnel. And I told them, I never want the situation to arise where the help of the IRA leads to the death of a U.S. citizen."

He also laughed at claims that the three alleged IRA members held in Colombia had been studying the peace process in that country.

"They were there involved in discussions about matters which can only be associated with activities that would fall under the rubric of terrorism," he said.

Next week's IRA tour may be the most high-profile delegation to visit Cuba, but relations between the Cuban revolution and the republican cause stretch back many years.

In the past the Castro regime has given haven to on-the-run IRA members, including the former IRA fugitive Evelyn Glenholmes, who was linked to an IRA arms and explosives cache in the early 1990s.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, (2); Gerry Adams; Fidel Castro

LOAD-DATE: December 15, 2001